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fifty was likely to be left a widow by him within the next fifteen years, and even if she remarried a man of the same age as her first husband, she could easily be widowed for the second time while still herself a comparatively young woman. There were several different patterns, most of them intermingled in the same household, for a female matrimonial career, but the situation may be illustrated by the concrete case of one of Turimpi's widows, an ancient crone (in 1930) named Bongdadu. Born about 1865, she was betrothed at birth to a powerful old man named Walitaumi who was at least the same age as her father, if not older. Not unnaturally, he died while she was still a child and well before she was old enough to join his household. Her betrothal was then reassigned, so to speak, to Walitaumi's half-brother, Turimpi, then in his early forties. About seven years later, she joined Turimpi's household as a blushing bride of fourteen, her husband then being close to fifty. In the next twenty years she became Turimpi's most prolific wife and bore numerous children, three of whom, Antonio, Mariano, and Louis, all born between 1883 and 1900, were men of importance in Tiwi politics in 1930, and one of whom, Louis, is still alive today.[6] Around 1900, when Bongdadu was still only about thirty-five, she passed to M., a middle-aged Tiklauila, and was his wife until his death around 1925. By this date, Bongdadu was over sixty and had borne ten children, four of whom died young. Not unnaturally, she was beginning to approach the hag or crone stage of Tiwi womanhood. Nonetheless, she had to remarry, but by now all of the people who might have claimed any rights of bestowal in her were long since dead, her eldest sons were adult men of some importance and able to protect their mother's interests, and clearly she was unlikely to produce any more children.[7] Her chief value was as a food producer and housekeeper and female politician, roles for which she had been well trained in her long years as wife of Turimpi and M.

Old women in Bongdadu's position had to remarry, but they were in a good position to exercise some choice of their own as to whom they remarried, especially if they had strong influential sons to support them in their wishes. There was a frequent pattern in such cases for the widow, aided and abetted (or perhaps even forced) by her sons, to arrange a marriage of convenience with some obscure nonentity much younger than herself and usually a friend or contemporary of her sons. In 1925, then, Bongdadu, widowed three times already, married as her fourth husband one Dominico, a man of no importance whatever, as was shown by the fact that at this time he was nearly forty and had not been able to attract even one bestowed wife. He had, however, already married one widow, so that his marriage to Bongdadu gave

[6] Tiwi personal names are polysyllabic and hard for the reader to remember; hence, wherever possible, we have used "whiteman names" for individuals. The frequency of Spanish names among these "whiteman names," such as Mariano or Dominico, derives from the fact that the original buildings for the Mission Station were built by a number of Filipino workmen whom the priests brought with them.

[7] The Tiwi saw no inconsistency between believing in spirit impregnation and believing at the same time that an old woman was unlikely to bear children. It was to them a matter of probabilities, and of course with them as with us, occasionally an elderly lady did—disconcertingly—have a baby, proving the logic of their position.

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to at least reside in some household and had at least a nominal current husband at any given moment of time, all we need to note about them at this point is that in any listing of a man's wives we have to include "disputed" wives in addition to all the other categories of wives mentioned previously.

The Household: An Overview

In the discussion so far we have selected only those aspects of the Tiwi family complex that had close bearing on the nature of the household. These aspects can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. the high number of wives per husband that a successful man was likely to acquire if he lived long enough.

2. the two distinct mechanisms by which wives were acquired—infant bestowal and widow remarriage.

3. the operation of the bestowal system in such a way as to prevent even the most promising young man from achieving coresidence with a bestowed wife until he was at least nearly forty years old.

4. the tendency for success to lead to more success, whereby *some* astute men received into their households a number of young wives in rapid succession after the age of forty.

5. the tendency of younger men and of nonbetrothed younger men in particular to marry elderly widows while waiting for betrothed wives to grow up or, in the case of those with no bestowals in sight, to enable them to start a household of their own.

6. as a result of the integrated operation of all these customs, the strong tendency in Tiwi households for husbands to be very much older than their wives (as a result of infant bestowal) or very much younger than their wives (as a result of widow remarriage) or—what was commonest of all in the bigger households—some combination of both. Hence many a Tiwi husband had some wives much older than himself, including some already dead (but still counted), and some very much younger than himself, including some who were still babies in their mothers' wombs (with their sex still undetermined). All these dead wives, current wives, nominal wives, "disputed" wives, not-yet-joined-the-household wives, and not-yet-born wives were still counted in a husband's list, and the length of his list was a measure of his influence, power, and importance as a household head.

It is now perhaps clear why we chose to begin our account of Tiwi culture with some discussion of Tiwi marriage. Compulsory marriage for all females, carried out through the twin mechanisms of infant bestowal and widow remarriage, resulted in a very unusual type of household, in which old successful men had twenty wives each, while men under thirty had no wives at all and men under forty were married mostly to elderly crones. This unusual household structure was the focal point of Tiwi culture. It linked together in an explicable unity the kinship system, the food-gathering system, the political

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quietly slipped away to some other camp and was not seen the following morning. The matter might then die, depending largely on whether the old husband wanted to carry it further or was content to drop it. If the young man was still in camp the following day, the old man might insist on a duel then and there, but it would take place only if the camp were large, since Tiwi duels were essentially legal actions and as such needed a sizable audience for their correct staging. Disputes between men, of which old men accusing young men of seduction were by far the most common type, usually remained at the verbal level until a large body of spectators was available. Since such large concentrations of many households were necessary for the performance of the main collective ceremonials, it was at the time of these ceremonials that most verbal arguments were pushed by the aggrieved party to the action level.

During the dry season (April to November) when travel was easy, the only collective ceremonials sufficiently important to draw together a large number of households were those held for the funerals of big men. In the wet season (November to March) when the grass and bush were high and travel was difficult, the main collective phases of the male initiation ceremonies were held (see Chapter 4), and these brought together for a few weeks at a time large numbers of households. The funeral ceremonies for adults were always held some considerable time after the death and burial of the deceased. How long a period elapsed between the death and the funeral ceremonies depended on the expected size of the gathering, and this figure correlated, at least roughly, with the importance of the deceased. Here again the overriding consideration was food supply, since the chief mourners (that is, the deceased's closer relatives) had to feed everybody who came to the funeral while the ceremonies lasted, which might be almost a week. The more important the dead person the bigger the crowd at his funeral, and hence the greater the amount of time needed by the mourners to arrange the catering. As much as a year might elapse between the death and the time when the mourners felt that the funeral arrangements—especially the food supply, but also the ceremonial preparation—were sufficiently well in hand to permit them to set a date and send out invitations for the funeral ceremonies. Funerals, therefore, were not held at regular times but were individually scheduled at times fixed by the chief mourners. They were always held in the dry season, however (except those of young children, to which nobody came in any case), and therefore an old man who had a dispute to settle or a case to try publicly could always depend on a few big funerals being held in the not very distant future which would provide the large audience necessary to make the settlement of the dispute legal. During the wet season the *kolema* phases of the initiation ceremonial always drew a large attendance; the annual time of these was pretty definitely fixed by the ripening of the *kolema* yams.

Hence the verbal wrangles in the small scattered encampments at night, about seduction during the day, could have any one of three outcomes, depending largely upon the determination of the old man-accuser and the demeanor of the young man-accused. If by the following morning the young man had disappeared and showed no further interest in the old man's menage, the

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so high and rank that the hunters were unable to get near the kangaroo. In this event, a senior man of the district might decide to convene a grass-burning posse. To it he invited more or less whom he pleased, so long as he included other household heads of the same band and other senior men from outside it whose ancestry gave them some claim to be invited. At the appointed time the hunters assembled, perhaps ten or fifteen adult men, with younger ones doing the actual hunting and the older ones supervising. The women and children acted as beaters; the grass was set on fire over a big area, and the kangaroos rounded up and killed while dazed by the smoke and the noise. The bag of animals killed in such a concerted hunt sometimes ran higher than one kangaroo per participant, so that every man, woman, and child present was able to gorge himself on kangaroo meat for a day or two. This sudden glut of meat was not, however, the main object of the burning, but a dividend. Even though few kangaroos were caught in the smoke and confusion, the burned-over area would provide good visibility for kangaroo hunting during the rest of the dry season, since the new tender shoots that sprang from the burned-over grass were a favorite food of the kangaroo and served to lure them out of the denser scrub areas and the mangrove swamps where hunting them was always difficult.

These occasional joint hunts, like the occasional small fights and the funerals of unimportant people, usually brought together only the members of households who lived relatively close to one another, so that while they are included in the list of events which interrupted household isolation, they did not, as a rule, involve any interaction between members of any wider group than the neighboring households. Perhaps the whole matter of activity beyond the household and the band can be illustrated best by an actual case. We have already mentioned the venerable Tu'untalumi, an old man resident among the Tiklauila, who as late as 1929, and despite the fact that by then the Tiklauila were the band most subject to mission influence, nonetheless had a list of twenty-one wives. In other ways besides his record of polygamy, Tu'untalumi was a pillar of the old culture. Though past seventy and much too old to hunt, he was a most enthusiastic and indefatigable song and dance composer, and in his zest for ceremonial he made a point of attending every big festival and as many smaller ones as he could get to. The whole tribe respected Tu'untalumi as a big man, liked him as a person, admired him for his steadfast support of Tiwi traditions, and most of all accepted him as a sort of leading authority on ritual matters. When dubious or disputed points of ceremonial were submitted to him, his decision, given clearly and firmly and with much citation of precedent and the distant past, was accepted without demur. His presence at a gathering located outside his own district was always a source of gratification to the household which had convened the gathering. The fact that Tu'untalumi had seen fit to attend not only made that household feel important but also provided its members with a technical guide and arbiter for unofficial help in running the rituals. The old man loved going to parties—and he was always a welcome guest—and years of such activity had given him such a sturdy, wiry constitution that despite his near-seventy-five years he could

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quently, on the banks of some creek or river in Tiklauila territory, a party wanting to cross would scout around and find a canoe hidden in the weeds. Everybody would use it to cross, and the question "Whose canoe is it?" would elicit the reply, "Oh, it's always there and everybody uses it who wishes to cross." But if the question were "Who made it in the first place and put it there?" the answer would be, "Probably Timalarua. He likes making canoes; he makes them all the time." He also liked making spears and posts, though he was not as generous with them as Tu'untalumi. When one of his posts appeared at a funeral, people would point it out admiringly saying, "Timalarua made that one" and the speaker would trace the lines and designs on it with his finger, using much the same gestures as an art critic in a modern gallery. When a post by Tu'untalumi was identified and admired, however, the admiration was for Tu'untalumi the generous person rather than Tu'untalumi the artist. One was a wonderful craftsman, the other was a wonderful man. But acclaim given to the song and dance performances of the two men was just the reverse: the dances of Timalarua were adequate but not outstanding, those of Tu'untalumi were in a class by themselves.

Comparison of the activities of these two old men illustrates the impossibility of drawing any line, in the simpler cultures at least, between artistic production and technological production. The canoes and the posts manufactured by Timalarua and the posts manufactured and the new dances created by Tu'untalumi were all, so to speak, in the same category, as far as the Tiwi were concerned. The distinction we might make between the canoes as "useful" products and the posts and dances as ceremonial or artistic products never occurred to them. All were objects or products which only successful old men had the required skill and leisure to make. The fact that one old man liked to make canoes and leave them around for other people to use, and another old man liked to compose dances and perform his compositions widely for other people to enjoy, to them merely indicated individual taste and choice; it did not make the first a craftsman and the second an artist. This point has been overlooked in most of the theorizing about primitive art; perhaps a necessary first step in the development of primitive artists is for a society to be able to provide a few men with enough leisure time to be able to cultivate what might perhaps best be called hobbies, since a hobby can equally well be something "useful" to society, like canoe making, or something personally satisfying, like dancing or decorating graveposts.

The huge, heavy, painted spears made by these old Tiwi men were mainly used only for display, and even the oldest men were positive that this had always been the tradition. In fact, they seemed a little shocked at the implication that such beautiful and valuable objects could ever have been used for such mundane purposes as hunting or warfare. The cutting and painting of such spears took time and skill—more time than a gravepost—and no important man went to the smallest gathering without bearing on his shoulder at least half a dozen of these symbols of his importance. If on his way through the bush he sighted a kangaroo, he dropped his painted spears and stalked the animal with an ordinary spear, or more probably left it to the young men in the party who carried only ordinary ones.

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The Beginning of Tiwi Careers

The Malauila in 1928-29 consisted of forty-nine males and sixty females of all ages. The males were divided into the following age groups:

20 years and below	28
between 21 and 30	7
between 31 and 42	7
between 43 and 55	4
over 55	3
Total	49

Of the twenty-eight males aged 20 or below, none had a wife of any kind, and none of them expected or were expected to have one. This group comprised the male children—boys and youths—and such males were of no importance whatever in the Tiwi scheme of things. They lived in the households of older men and were ignored by the male elders.

The next group, the seven men between 21 and 30, was the group of young men whom the elders were just beginning to take seriously. The younger of them were almost indistinguishable from the "youths," while the older of them were beginning to be watched by the seniors with some interest. Of the seven, six were neither married to a wife of any sort nor promised a wife. One, called Banana by the whites, was a man of about 28 and married to an ancient crone who was childless by three previous husbands, but she was in the category of "disputed" wife since her young husband had only been able to acquire and hold her because of abnormal circumstances arising from the presence of white buffalo-hunters on Melville Island some years previously. Under pre-white conditions, none of the seven men under 30 would have had a wife of any kind.

The years between 30 and 40 were the crucial years for Tiwi men in their establishment of households and careers. It was during this period that men normally married their first ancient widows and the "likely to be successful" became sorted out from the less-likely. As they passed into their thirties, men were allowed to enter for the first time into the influence game and, as the most junior players, they entered it by becoming subordinates and satellites of the bigger and more senior players, or by making alliances among themselves so as to pool their small individual assets.

In this age group in 1928-29, there were seven Malauila men ranging in age from around 31 to 42. One (Tiberun) was still unmarried and unpromised. He was thus (at age about 33) the oldest bachelor in the band. Not unnaturally he spent a good deal of time with other bands or at the Mission in the hope that his failure to get started in Malau might be remedied by elders of other bands or even by the priests. Tiberun was an older full brother of Banana, the 28-year-old married irregularly to a woman whom he had "stolen." A glance at their family tree revealed one potent reason why Tiberun

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was still a bachelor and why Banana had acted so impulsively and thereby gotten himself in the bad graces of the elders. The two men were the eldest of four brothers without any full sisters and as such they were necessarily handicapped in their career struggle. Elders seeking satellites or contemporaries seeking allies looked askance at men without sisters, for such men could have no sisters' daughters to use in the marriage-arrangements struggle. The mother of Tiberun and Banana was dead, but even were she still alive, few men would have been interested in marrying a widow whose only living children were sons. Widows without daughters and bachelors without sisters rated very low in the scale of desirable assets sought either by elders or by contemporaries.

Tiberun was thus the only bachelor in the 30-42 age group. Of the remainder we select Teapot as an example of another man who failed to get started. Teapot was at least 35, and about seven years previously he had "stolen" a wife from an elder. This wife was no ancient and shop-worn widow like the wife Banana had "stolen," but a young girl who had been betrothed in due form to an elder by her father. How Teapot had managed to get away with her is too complicated an incident to unravel here, and in any case it hadn't done Teapot much good. After presenting Teapot with a baby boy the young woman died, and Teapot, with a now six-year-old son, was more or less an outcast among the Malauila. No elder wanted him as a satellite and none of his contemporaries wanted him as an ally. His mother was dead and his only sister was married to a Munupula elder. This sister in Munupi was his only asset and one which a different man might have used as a means to better himself. But Teapot, instead of using this small asset to get started on a career, had chosen to defy the rules and "steal" an elder's bestowed wife. "Stealing" an old widow was reprehensible conduct in the eyes of the elders; stealing a young bestowed wife was unforgivable. Hence Teapot, since his crime, had received no bestowal, had been able to marry no widow, and was wanted by no one as an ally.

A complete contrast to these two unsuccessful men in their thirties was provided by the case of Gitjara, who was about the same age as Tiberun. Gitjara, it is true, had sisters, and that was always a help. Using his sisters (already married and bearing children to an elder) as bait, Gitjara when he was about 28 proposed an alliance to L. F. B., a rather feeble man about five years older than himself, who was not doing very well in the influence race. The gist of the proposal was that, since both their mothers were still alive and each married to an old man who could not last much longer, Gitjara should marry the ancient mother of L. F. B. when she became a widow, and L. F. B. should marry Gitjara's mother when that old lady became a widow. Perhaps the idea originated with the two old women rather than with either of the young men. Since such arrangements were essentially plots or schemes, it is impossible to determine who conceived them in the first place—old women ambitious to aid their sons or young men ready to use their mothers as long-term gambits to ultimately provide themselves with young wives. Mother-exchange operations were probably first conceived at high-level strategy con-

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ferences in which smart mothers and dull mothers, smart sons and dull sons were all present, and the final plan emerged from consensus.

In this case the former husbands of the two old women both died conveniently soon and within about three years of each other and, according to plan, there came into existence a household of two men in their thirties each married to the elderly mother of the other. Gitjara and L. F. B. thus set up jointly the foundations of their households and began their careers as a joint enterprise.

Gitjara had two sisters, both married to White Man, an elder, and already the mothers of daughters to him. By marrying Gitjara's mother, L. F. B. automatically became the nominal father of these women, and in the event of White Man's death would have, as such, some say in where they remarried. But the right of the step-father to redispose widowed step-daughters was always disputed by the brothers (or even sons) of the step-daughters, provided those brothers (or sons) were old enough or influential enough for their wishes to be taken seriously. Thus we may say that in putting L. F. B. into position as his own step-father, Gitjara's main object had been to get a satellite or henchman of his own into the position of step-father of his sisters (the wives of White Man) so that when they became widows there would be no conflict between the wishes of their brother and the wishes of their step-father as to whom they should remarry. L. F. B. as step-father was, so to speak, a stooge for Gitjara the brother.

Conversely, L. F. B. had two sisters both married to Ki-in-kumi, the most powerful elder in Malau. By marrying the mother of L. F. B., Gitjara
[606] became the step-father of two of Ki-in-kumi's wives, thus immediately (despite his youth) becoming technically the father-in-law of that powerful old man, and a man with some say in where those two wives of Ki-in-kumi would remarry on Ki-in-kumi's death. As step-father of such widows, Gitjara would have to make his wishes prevail as against the wishes of their brothers, but the only brother was L. F. B. and his vote was obviously in Gitjara's pocket.

By engineering this double shuffle of two elderly widows, each with daughters, Gitjara had launched his career as a marriage manipulator. Almost before it was concluded he became involved in another widow operation. We will omit the intricate details, but can say that he emerged from this with a second wife for himself, this one (naturally) also a widow but quite a young widow. This woman had already borne four sons and one daughter to her previous husband but was still young enough when Gitjara took her over in 1926 to bear him a son (her last) in 1927. In Tiwi terms the acquisition of this widow by Gitjara was a real achievement for the young man, not because of her comparative youth nor because of the son she bore him but because among the children by her previous marriage was a daughter aged about nine
[554] at the time she remarried Gitjara. To become the step-father of such a young girl was a real asset for the young operator. Her dead father had bestowed this child on Summit, another of the same Malauila age group of 30-year-olds and hence one of Gitjara's rivals and competitors in the influence struggle.

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159 Some years later, when Boya had reached a reasonable age like 30,
593 Ki-in-kumi had arranged for him to marry a very ancient and childless widow
(*palimaringa*) more than twenty years older than himself. This was all that
[587] Ki-in-kumi considered he needed to do for his step-son, and in Tiwi terms
it was almost a gesture of contempt and an open indication that Ki-in-kumi, by
providing him with an old woman who was childless but could cook, was not
interested in helping Boya toward a career. Since the joining up of Boya to
[768] the crone took place shortly after the death of Boya's mother, who had lived
with her sons in Ki-in-kumi's household, Ki-in-kumi by producing the old
widow for Boya was telling him in effect to get out and start his own household
now that his mother was dead.

159 In 1928 we found Boya aged about 42 married to the crone of 65.
584 But he, she, and Boya's younger brother of 24 were still living in Ki-in-kumi's
593 household. Ki-in-kumi's detestation of him was notorious and yet Boya had by
[592] now no less than four young bestowed child-wives growing up elsewhere. No
one of these bestowals had come from Malau but were bestowals from different
fathers of baby girls in other bands. At first sight this presented a curious
situation. Within his own band Boya appeared a complete failure, suffering
[554] so severely from Ki-in-kumi's hostility that he had received no bestowals and
at age 42 did not even have a separate household of his own. But how could
this judgment be squared with the four bestowals from elders of other bands?
Clearly none of the causes of success so far analyzed fitted the case of Boya.

159 Further research into who lived with whom as distinct from who was
591 married to whom revealed that not only was "the household" of Boya, his
592 elderly wife, and his younger brother an integral part of the Ki-in-kumi
"establishment," but also that Padimo with his "household" was part of that
establishment. Padimo, like Boya, had one elderly wife but he also had five
bestowed wives, all daughters of Ki-in-kumi. We said above that the two eldest
of these five girls being now aged 20 and 17 respectively were in residence
with their husband, while the three youngest, not having reached puberty,
were still "with their father." Actual observation showed that this was an
academic distinction, since the households of Padimo, the son-in-law, and Ki-in-
kumi, the father-in-law, were parts of the same establishment. When one of
Ki-in-kumi's daughters bestowed on Padimo became old enough to "leave her
father and join her husband," she did not have to move her residence or even
change her daily work routines. She merely sat at night around the campfire
of her older sisters (Padimo's wives) instead of around the campfire of her
younger sisters (Ki-in-kumi's daughters). She remained part of the same es-
tablishment.

Padimo, it will be remembered, was the young man whom Ki-in-kumi
had attracted from Rangu to Malau by liberally bestowing him with child-
wives. Padimo had thus moved into the northern band and by 1928 had
moved right into Ki-in-kumi's camp, where he functioned as a sort of executive
officer and heir apparent to the old man. In the same camp, though in a very
different capacity, was Boya, the 42-year-old despised step-son. Many roads thus
592 led to Ki-in-kumi's household, but before discussing the large establishment

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of that wealthy elder, we will first summarize, in Table I, the marital conditions of the eight young men we have been discussing. 592

TABLE I
THE MALAUILA YOUNG MEN IN 1928-29

Name	Age	Resident Old Wives (Ex-widows)	Resident Young Wives (Bestowals)	Promised Wives (Under 14)	Own Children
Tiberun	33	0	0	0	0
Banana	28	1	0	0	0
Teapot	35	0[a]	0	0	1
Gitjara	33	2	0	2	1
L. F. B.	38	1	0	1	0
Summit	36	1	0	3	0
Padimo	36	1	2	3	0[b]
Boya	42	1	0	4	0

[a] Teapot's "senior" wife was dead.
[b] Padimo's first child, born in 1929, lived only a few days.

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This table presents a summary of many of our earlier attempts at generalization. The only Malauila under the age of 43 who had a bestowed young wife old enough to live with him was Padimo, who was thus exceptionally lucky. Leaving out young Banana, five of the seven men between the ages of 30 and 42 had young females promised to them, but these were mostly babies or children who would not come into residence for several years. Six of the seven had married widows, mostly elderly widows, well in advance of the arrival of young wives and before any father had bestowed a daughter on them. Finally, and a point not made before, men of this age group rarely had any children of their own. The only entries in the last column of Table I are the irregularly born son of Teapot; Padimo's first daughter who died virtually at birth; and the 1-year-old son of Gitjara who was the last child born to his second ex-widow. Tiwi men rarely had young wives until they were around forty; they even more rarely had any children of their own before that age. Padimo's dead baby and Gitjara's 1-year-old son were exceptional; the zeros in the last column against the names of Boya (42), L. F. B. (38), and Summit (36) represent the normal situation for Tiwi men of such ages. 561 582

In terms of success (as measured by bestowals) Padimo and Summit (largely through the patronage of elders) and Boya and Gitjara (largely through their own operations) were the coming young men among the Malauila. Of the others, L. F. B. was approaching forty with few assets and no influence, and the other three, Tiberun, Banana, and Teapot, had not even got started in the influence race. 554 584

A Very Successful Elder: Ki-in-kumi

The most influential man in Malau and the head of the biggest household was Ki-in-kumi. Since he had been born around 1863-64 and had been 159 557

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The Politics of Widow Remarriage

Ki-in-kumi's large establishment was the sort of set-up that every Tiwi sought to achieve but few accomplished. An establishment such as his meant wealth, power, prestige, and influence for its head, and, in Malau, Ki-in-kumi was the only man with such a household. With eleven males, many of them food producing; sixteen women, all of them food producing; and several of the girls under fourteen able to assist the older women, the amount of food this unit could collect in a day provided an ample food surplus for the establishment. A man whose household was a surplus food producer was a successful man. Moreover, since the large work force that produced the food surplus contained numerous young wives who (usually) could be relied upon also to produce numerous female babies, he was doubly blessed with both the requisites—surplus food and surplus daughters—necessary to increase his influence and make more people beholden to him or dependent on him. Of the thirty-five married women in Malau, sixteen, or over 45 percent, were in this one establishment.

By comparison, the other old men of Malau were less successful.[8] Through pooling their work forces, Enquirio and Merapanui had achieved an establishment (Unit II) almost as big as that of Ki-in-kumi, and probably its members ate almost as well as the members of his, but their effort was a shared effort and their influence and prestige had to be divided between them. They had been lucky with daughters but, divided between the two fathers, the eleven daughters in their establishment were less impressive than Ki-in-kumi's eight, and the total of seven young wives between them was quite overshadowed by Ki-in-kumi's nine. The two old brothers were successful men and headed a successful operation, but their prestige and success must be rated at least one whole degree below that of Ki-in-kumi.

Another pair of elderly brothers, White Man and Ku-nai-u-ua, had also joined forces (Unit III), but the results can be judged as only fair. They were at least the best off of their age group, the 45- to 55-year-olds, but the competition in that age group was weak, as can be seen by comparison of their establishment with Units IV and V, the households of Pingirimini and Tipiperna-gerai. Perhaps the best indication of the respective success in life of the seven oldest men is that given in the column of Table III headed "young wives." Of the twenty-three such women in the band, eighteen were in the establishments[9] of the three oldest men (Units I and II); the next five men in age shared the remaining five (Units III, IV, and V).

It might be thought that the small establishments of the unsuccessful junior elders like White Man, Ku-nai-u-ua, Pingirimini, and Tipiperna-gerai could be expected to increase sharply in size and these men to grow in relative prestige and influence when death removed the three old men at the heads

[8] It will be noticed that as we move into the older group of men we have to use their native names, since most of them had no "whiteman" names.

[9] Two of these eighteen were of course actually married to Padimo, but still part of the establishment of their father, Ki-in-kumi, since Padimo's wives all lived with Ki-in-kumi's wives.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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of Units I and II and made their wives available for redistribution. The working of the Tiwi system made this possibility unlikely. Unsuccessful junior elders could not expect to step into the shoes of successful senior elders merely by outliving them; nor could one rise to power in the gerontocratic system merely by living past fifty-five. What was necessary was age *plus* ability, and the time to demonstrate the ability was in one's thirties. If it was not demonstrated and recognized by then, a man could not forge ahead in his middle forties and early fifties, for by then it was too late. This fact gave a certain cyclical quality to the transfer of influence in Tiwi. The influence of successful senior elders, to the extent that such an intangible thing was transferable at all, tended to skip a decade and bypass the men currently in the junior elder category in favor of the men in the current "young operator" category. Since Ki-in-kumi was already quite old, there was in 1929 a great deal of political maneuvering going on in Malau and elsewhere in anticipation of his death, and it was clear that the people most likely to profit by his death and the redistribution of his twelve resident wives (one-third of all resident wives in the band) were the men aged from thirty-two to forty-two such as Padimo, Boya, Summit, and Gitjara, all of whom were jockeying for position to take advantage of the death of any old man, especially such a wealthy elder as Ki-in-kumi. Some of the widows would undoubtedly remarry into other bands, but these younger Malauila, living with or near the old man's establishment, were already taking advantage of their strategic location to make some preliminary deals and marriage arrangements for the old man's widows even before his death. Neither Padimo, as Ki-in-kumi's son-in-law, nor Boya, as his nominal "son," could themselves marry any of the widows, but as resident members of his establishment and the only two men so situated, each was in an excellent spot to act as an honest broker in the disposal of Ki-in-kumi's large estate. Anybody interested in obtaining a widow or two at the death of Ki-in-kumi was well advised to have a few quiet words with either Padimo or Boya well ahead of time. Both of them had wives who lived and worked every day alongside Ki-in-kumi's womenfolk and thus they each had ideal communication systems to the women's side of the band. This was why they had held off setting up their own separate establishments though they were both married men. Neither were "heirs" of Ki-in-kumi in any strict Western use of that word, but it was obvious that it was their careers that would be promoted and their spheres of influence that would be enhanced by the death of Ki-in-kumi. The junior elders, all approaching or past the age of fifty with only small establishments and small spheres of influence, were being bypassed in the transfer of the old man's assets.

Every Tiwi anxious to obtain a Ki-in-kumi widow recognized the strategic positions of Padimo and Boya; the problem was to decide which broker to retain, since the positions of the two men in relation to Ki-in-kumi were so different. For the past four or five years Padimo had been the right-hand man and trusted lieutenant and undoubtedly it was he upon whom Ki-in-kumi was relying to carry out his own wishes about the distribution of his widows. We said earlier that old men found it difficult to control the remarriage of their

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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557 587 would become involved or make any soundings among the widows unless there was something in it for them. Hence the client had to find out whether a promise of general goodwill and friendship was all that Boya (or Padimo) would ask in return for his services or whether the price would be much [584] higher—perhaps as high as the bestowal of the client's next baby daughter. It was in such ways that widow-remarriage arrangements and infant bestowals were intertwined; a much-delayed bestowal to an apparently unrelated individual would be the ultimate pay-off to the broker or agent who had engineered a widow remarriage for the bestower years before.

[561] This role of agent in the disposal of a dead man's widows was a type of operation best suited to men in the first stages of their own married lives —that is, to men in their middle thirties or very early forties who had perhaps married their first or second widows and who had as yet no young wives of their own in residence. Having no young wives to guard, they were able to get around easily on diplomatic missions and they had their own listening posts inside the world of women in the person of their own mothers (if still alive) and in the elderly widows whom they themselves had married. The ambitious young brokers were tipped off by their mothers and elderly wives as to how the young wives wished to be distributed and what the competing young brokers were trying to arrange. Thus when a wealthy old man like Ki-in-kumi died, the redistribution of his wives through remarriage was a matter that had been decided beforehand by an extraordinary complex tangle of semisecret arrangements and deals and promises, but the people most influential in arranging the redistribution were the young brokers who usually got few, if any, of the young widows for themselves but who collected their rewards in reputation, influence, alliances, and future bestowals from the men for whom they had acted as agents.

[768] Thus the death of Ki-in-kumi or of any other old man with many wives tended to disperse the wives all over the tribe, with only one or two, or at most three, going to any one new husband. A large estate was almost always fragmented by the death of the old man who had built it up, and any one of his contemporaries was able to take over only a very small fraction of it at best. The levirate and sororate principles, though present, worked very feebly. The men who benefited most—not immediately, but eventually—were the young operators.[1] In such a manner Padimo and Boya were sure to be the long-term beneficiaries of Ki-in-kumi's death though neither of them could remarry any of his widows. The real heirs of the wealthy old men of sixty and over were the young men who happened to be between thirty-two and forty-two when those old men got near to death. The men between forty-five and fifty-five whose brokerage business ten years earlier had not been very skillfully

554 557 587

[1] At least some of the so-called "stolen" or disputed wives were widows who had insisted on marrying the younger agent instead of the older client, which put the young broker in the embarrassing position of saying to his client, "I cannot make delivery of the widow I acquired on your account; she insists on marrying me instead." Such an incident did not do his agency business much good but tended rather to frighten off clients.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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handled, or who happened to be at the brokering age when no big households were being liquidated, found themselves in the position that Pingirimini and Tipiperna-gerai occupied in 1928-29. We know they had not been successful dealers in their thirties because we found them around the age of fifty with only one resident wife each and relatively few bestowals in prospect. Their earlier dealings in widows had not laid the right foundations for successful careers as elders. Even before he was forty, Padimo had five or six bestowed wives either in residence or in prospect, and Boya, not much over forty, had several already promised. The death of Ki-in-kumi in the near future would bring both of them more reputation and ultimately more bestowals in return for their skill (if they showed it) in the disposition of the estate. The inferiority of Pingirimini and Tipiperna-gerai to these younger men in the marriage and influence struggle was already apparent and would be even more accentuated by Ki-in-kumi's death.

The Politics of Bestowal

The above discussion of how younger men were indirectly benefited by the deaths or impending deaths of wealthy older men does not pretend to give an exhaustive list of all the considerations that went into the reallocation of a dead man's widows. We built our analysis around those factors which were paramount in the case of Ki-in-kumi's household. Other cases were different to the extent that there were real adult sons involved in them rather than a nominal "son" like Boya, or because in them the old man had not chosen a clear-cut executor as Ki-in-kumi had chosen Padimo, or because an old man had surviving brothers close to him in age and alliance who would emphasize the levirate principle and seek to have it followed in the relocation of their dead brother's widows. The few points we are seeking to emphasize among the many that might be emphasized in any exhaustive treatment of Tiwi widow remarriage are: 1) that widow remarriage was a very flexible area in which the ultimate disposition of the widows was decided by the manipulations and wishes of a wide range of individuals including both relatives and nonrelatives, The dead man himself; the fathers of the wives, if still alive; the brothers of the widows, if adults; the widows themselves, if strong minded; the executors of the dead man, if clearly nominated; and the numerous dealers and brokers on behalf of remote clients or even on their own account—all tried to make their own wishes prevail. The result was that no two cases were ever alike, but on balance 2) it was younger men rather than older men who were most likely to enhance their reputations and increase their assets in the long run as the results of these widow redeals, even though in the short run it was the older men who remarried most of the widows, especially the younger widows.

We have briefly discussed what we have labeled the politics of widow remarriage before discussing the politics of infant bestowal, although logically it might appear that infant bestowal should be taken up first. We have fol-

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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584 lowed this order because, in Tiwi life, infant bestowal was reserved for fathers,
163 and a Tiwi was at least a middle-aged man before he became a father at all. Before he could have a daughter to bestow, he had to be the father of one; and before he could become a father, he had to have a baby girl bestowed upon him and wait for her to grow up to child-bearing age. The much-married Ki-in-kumi did not have his first actual daughter (as distinct from wives' daughters begotten by previous husbands) until he was forty-five, and Enquirio was closer to fifty than to forty when his first real daughter was born. We are inclined to call such daughters free or unencumbered daughters since the step-daughters brought into a man's household by widows, even young widows, were already bestowed by act of the widows' previous husbands and the new husband's control over their marriage was therefore encumbered by the dispositions made by his predecessors.

584 Thus most men did not have and could not expect to have any free or unencumbered daughters to bestow until they were well into their forties. By that time a man was a prisoner of his past. When at last he had free daughters he was no longer a free man but a junior elder with a mass of obligations both to older men and to younger men, which he had contracted in the pre-
[881] vious twenty or thirty years. Even his initiation, which had started when he was only about fifteen, left him under obligation to the older men who had initiated him. Any bestowals he had received had almost necessarily come to him from older men. In his thirties, it is true, he had operated in the widow remarriage area and put some older men under obligation to him by acting as their agent. But in his agency activities he had also contracted debts, usually in fee-splitting or log-rolling agreements with other agents of about his own age. Thus all his past activities, from his initiation at fifteen until the arrival of his first free daughter at (let us say) age forty-five, were on balance a story of obligations contracted and debts of gratitude assumed in his career of upward mobility. The more successful he had been up to now, the stronger the pressure on him to begin paying off those who had helped him, since it was assumed that his very success was a clear indication of how much obligation he must have to other men, especially older men and contemporaries.

584 If this line of reasoning had been the only relevant one, a Tiwi of age
557 forty-five just presented with his first free daughter would have had problem enough deciding which of his many obligations to liquidate first by his bestowal decision for that daughter. Unfortunately he was at the age when he had to consider the future as well as the past. Some of his old obligations were to men who were very old and unlikely to live much longer. Others were to men of his own age with whom he had been partners ten years before, but by now it was clear that some of these would never amount to much and paying them
[554] off would reap no dividends for the future. Failure to meet the obligation might incur their enmity, but in view of their lack of success, perhaps their hostility was a lesser evil. In 1929, Gitjara, who had needed L. F. B. to get his own career launched, was ready to drop him as a partner now that Gitjara had attracted favorable notice in the form of two bestowals. The junior elders, though obligated to older men like Ki-in-kumi, were not bestowing their scanty

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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sister's son being initiated, the attitude of a Tiwi toward the whole *pukimani* state was essentially a passive attitude. *Pukimani* behavior was something one accepted and conformed to when required; it was in no way an active attempt to change nature, people, food, gods, spirits, or anything else in the universe. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that since their *pukimani* system offered them no handle by which to seek actively to alter the universe in which they lived, the Tiwi found that universe to their liking as it was. Unlike the tribes of central Australia who lavished a lot of thought upon magical methods of improving the food supply or the rainfall, the Tiwi believed and acted on the belief that as long as they observed their *pukimani* taboos, the food would continue to be as abundant and the rains as regular as they had always been. The central Australians, by seeking to coerce nature through magic, suggest that they found nature unsatisfactory; the Tiwi, by relying upon passive taboo-observance alone, suggest rather that their relationship to nature was an acceptable equilibrium that they wanted to preserve, not change. And if everybody observed his *pukimani* taboos when required, that equilibrium would remain undisturbed. Hence the antisocial man in Tiwi was not the maker of individual magic (he was unknown, anyway) but the nonobserver of taboo. By his nonobservance he threatened to upset the normally satisfactory equilibrium between man and nature. For a senior Tiwi male to be charged publicly with breaking *pukimani* rules was a disgrace and a blow to his prestige and his position in public opinion. His behavior was possibly a sin against the spirits but it was certainly a shame in the eyes of his fellows. *Pukimani* observance was thus a matter of respectability to a much greater degree than it was a matter of pleasing the spirits.

DEATH As was mentioned above, death is the natural phenomenon around which the Tiwi had woven their most elaborate web of ritual. The most frequent and most important Tiwi ceremonies were the mourning ceremonies, and they came in three sizes—small, medium, and large—depending on the age, sex, and importance of the dead person. The mourning ceremonies which drew the crowds were not held until some time after the death and burial. All bodies of dead persons were buried within twenty-four hours of their death by digging a hole near the camp where the death had occurred and placing the body, wrapped in bark, in it. Near most well-used camping spots there was already a graveyard marked by old graveposts, and the latest corpse was buried there or near there. Seldom was the body carried any distance for burial. If a person died even less than a mile from an old burial ground, there was little inclination to carry the body that far. He would be buried, instead, within perhaps a hundred yards of where he died. This had certain awkward repercussions for social organization, since occasionally a person died while away from his home district and, being buried where he died, his ceremonies were held and his posts erected in a district in which his immediate family did not live. Young men often used this to validate a change of residence, giving as their reason for living in a band territory in which they had not grown up, the location there of their father's graveposts.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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To avoid constant use of the awkward phrase "mourning ceremony," we refer to it as the funeral though it took place some considerable time after the burial of the body. How long a time elapsed between the burial and the funeral depended upon the importance of the dead person. The more important the deceased, the longer it took after his or her burial to prepare for the funeral, both ceremonially and practically. Babies frequently had no funeral ceremonies at all, especially if they died very young and unnamed. Children were given small funerals, held within a month or so after the death, and the people present were merely the members of the local households. Young adult men and all adult women had funerals of medium size, and old men had the biggest funerals of all. Big funerals were rarely held in the wet season because of the height of the grass and b[illegible] and the consequent difficulty of travel. The season after the end of the rains (April-May-June) was a favorite time for funerals since by then people were moving again and there was then an accumulated backlog of funerals to be held for people who had died late in the previous dry season or during the wet. The mourning ceremonies of two or more people were sometimes held together; this obviously required that they be buried close together, although they need not have died at the same time. Seeking as usual to increase his importance in the public eye, a man might hold the medium-sized funeral of one of his children at the same time and place as the big funeral of an important elder—provided their graves were close together—even though two or three months had separated the two deaths.

The actual burial of the body immediately after death was usually a small affair attended only by whatever people happened to be in the vicinity. But some Tiwi ancients were on their last legs for months before they finally expired, and it was typical of Tiwi psychology that people should maneuver to be present when a death occurred. Until the anthropologist understood that even death had its political aspects, he could not understand why the Tiwi were always so anxious to hang around the camp of an old man who was taking an awfully long time to die. Since so very little happened at the actual time of death, this desire to be on the spot seemed merely morbid curiosity.[8] But it was not. A death immediately divided the whole tribe into two groups: a small group of relatives who automatically became mourners and therefore in a state of strict taboo, and the rest who were not sufficiently close to the deceased to have to assume a state of *pukimani*. The mourners, being *pukimani*, could do scarcely anything except weep and wail and gash their heads with stone axes. They could not touch the body or wrap it in bark; nor could they dig the grave, nor put the body in, nor fill in the hole. They had to ask non-mourners to carry out these tasks and thus became obligated to those non-

[8] How else was one to interpret the reluctance of Hart's party to move on, after spending three weeks waiting for old Tamboo to die, and the old man still lingered on? "Let's wait another day; maybe he'll die tomorrow" was the invariable response to suggestions that we move. "And if he does die, what will happen?" "Nothing; we'll move on then." But this was early in the fieldwork period, before Hart realized the all-pervasive character of Tiwi opportunism.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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mourners for their services. Death, in other words, incapacitated the relatives, so the nonrelatives swarmed in to "help" them—that is, take advantage of their incapacity. A man who could say, "I helped to dig your mother's grave" had a hold for the rest of his life over the man or men to whom he could say it. Such a hold was not as strong, of course, as that of a man who could say, "I helped you get your first bestowed wife," but the difference of obligation was only a difference of degree. The Tiwi were always "helping" each other, but the man who was "helped" therefore "owed" something to his helper. At deaths, mourners mourned and nonmourners did the work; therefore the mourners "owed" the nonmourners, and such debts were carried on the same mental ledgers as other debts, such as marriage debts.

When deaths occurred suddenly and unexpectedly, the mourners had to choose their helpers for the burial from the relatively few people present at the time, and were thus often forced to become obligated to men they did not much relish being under obligation to. At the funerals the same bookkeeping mentality prevailed, but since these were not held until months after the death and burial, the chief mourners had time to select their helpers with ease and political finesse. Satellites were very useful in this connection, since a man could ask his satellites to perform the necessary ceremonial services and thus get a return from them for the debts of gratitude they already owed him. This was one reason why a skillful Tiwi politician did not by any means select only close kinsmen for satelliteship. A death which made him *pukimani* was likely to make his close kinsmen *pukimani* also, hence he needed some satellites who were not close kinsmen.

In the interval between the burial and the funeral, the chief mourner, on behalf of all the mourners but fairly independently if he were a big man, allocated all the jobs that had to be done in preparation for the funeral. Everybody who came had to be fed by the mourners, and the collection and hoarding of the necessary food devolved on the women of the mourning households. Thus the mourners provided the food, but everything else necessary had to be prepared by nonmourners. The chief item among the ceremonial necessities was the graveposts. The prohibition on mourners approaching the body and the grave extended to the posts, and therefore the cutting, carving, erecting on the grave, and painting of these central features of the funeral ceremonies had to be carried out by nonmourners, "asked to cut the posts" by the chief mourner. Here there was much room for influence maneuvers. A big man acting as chief mourner for a dead relative wanted the funeral to be as lavish as possible, to show his own importance. But the more important the nonmourners he selected to cut the posts for him, the more he owed them for their services. Such a request was in the nature of asking a favor, and to ask a favor was to put oneself in a subordinate position, in terms of influence. The Tiwi power orientation was so ingrained that, even when acting as chief mourner, an elder could not avoid making his requests and allocating the ceremonial tasks so as to gain ground if possible, or at least not lose any ground, in the influence and prestige race.

The mourning ceremonies, though prolonged for several days of con-

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

The territory of the *Tiklauila* is roughly contained in the area in the south of Bathurst Island, south of Point Hurd and west of *Mukambrimo*, which is a river about eight miles to the west of the mission station. In this area, roughly about two hundred square miles, there are a number of districts with specific names. Anyone familiar with the Australian blackfellow knows how certain districts are given certain names, and although no native can tell the exact boundaries, everyone in the tribe knows when he has come into one of these districts and when he has left it. The principle of differentiation of these areas seems to be upon the basis of the physical aspect of the country, a valley for example having a distinct name from either set of hills surrounding it, a plain being distinguished from a thickly-wooded piece of bushland on its margin, and so on.

These districts play an important part in Tiwi land ownership. Certain districts are not owned by the horde as a whole, but by a single family of that horde. Thus in the horde we are considering, *Tapio*, the extensive district in the extreme south-western corner of the island around Cape Fouveroy, is owned by a single set of men, all of whom are the son's sons of *Mikidjimirla*, a man who as far as can be judged died about 1870-1880. The basis of their title is the fact that *Mikidjimirla* died and was buried in the district, hence all the game and fruit in *Tapio* belong to them, and cannot be hunted or collected by anyone else without their consent.

The question immediately arises as to whether the mere burial of a man in a district gives his heirs property rights in that district. The Tiwi answer is that it always does if the man was sufficiently important. The man in question here, *Mikidjimirla*, was from all accounts one who left a deep impression on the society of his time both by his personality and by his prowess in warfare. More than that he left his mark on following generations by the number of children he had. At the present time, there are nine men, all grandchildren of *Mikidjimirla*, in whom the hunting and fruit-collecting rights of *Tapio* are vested, and these men and their families normally camp in *Tapio* and deny the right of other *Tiklauila* families to hunt there. This group has a solidarity of its own which is expressed by a name *Tapiauwila*, which is one of the alternative horde-names. It should be noted in this connection that the Tiwi name for father's father is *amini*, and the members of this group will frequently

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 0120 Tiwi 0120

The southern section of Bathurst
Island (Hart 1930) is inhabited by a subtribe called the Tiklauila. In 1911 a Roman Catholic Mission station was established at the southeast tip of Bathurst Island, virtually in Tiklauila territory, and at the time of the present writer's field work this was the only white settlement. In the generation before the missionaries arrived the "big man" among the Tiklauila was Turimpi. Because of their complicated marriage and inheritance regulations the average Tiwi old man in the course of his lifetime accumulates an impressive number of wives and Turimpi was no exception to this rule. At the time of his death, which occurred toward the end of the 1890's at an age which was probably something approaching 70, Turimpi counted as his wives then living or pre-deceasing him no less than 25 females. Of these the only one we need to pay any attention to is the woman named Bongdadu. She, while Turimpi's wife, had borne numerous children, of whom three males grew to manhood—Antonio, born in approximately 1883, Mariano born three or four years later, and Louis born around 1893. Sometime between 1895 and 1900 she was widowed by the death of Turimpi, whereupon she married another elderly man, Murikambunga, to whom she bore two more sons—Tipperary, born around 1900, and Bob born about a year later. Bongdadu of course had numerous other children who did not survive childhood.[3] It is her five adult sons who concern us here.

Turimpi, as the number of wives suggests, was an important tribal figure during his lifetime. Importance, prestige, tendency to be spoken of as a "big man" are in Tiwi functions of a number of factors in which age, number of wives, fighting ability, wisdom in council, and "family" in the sense of having relatives who are also "big men," are all compounded. On all these counts Turimpi was important, and his prestige tended to carry on after his death. Since the horde or subtribe is a comparatively small group, ranging in size from 214 for the Tiklauila (the biggest) to 57 for the Mingwila (the smallest), there will seldom be more than two or three "big men" in a subtribe at the same time, and at certain periods there may be none at all since the few old men who have the age qualification may not have the other qualifications. Turimpi's death left the Tiklauila to some extent in this state. There were few other men with comparable seniority and none of them had the qualifications for informal leadership and local prestige that he had possessed. His death left a gap, and a gap that could hardly be filled by his eldest son Antonio, who at the time of his father's death was a youth of about 16 years of age. About thirty years later, in 1928 to 1930, the field work upon which the present paper is based was carried out.

ANTONIO

It so happened that the present writer had been with the Tiwi for nearly three months before he met Antonio, although during those three months he had been closely associated with two of his brothers, Mariano and Tipperary. These two gave Antonio a great build-up as one of the most important men around, as a "big man" in every possible Tiwi sense. But when encountered in person he proved most disappointing. The only words that fitted Antonio

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

were words like "insecure" and "uneasy." He was not particularly aggressive nor particularly submissive, but he fluctuated between the two attitudes. One got the impression after associating with him that he was never sure of what was expected of him and acted therefore in contradictory ways according to what *he thought* was expected of him. Or to put the same impression another way, there seemed a constant discrepancy between what people expected of Antonio and what he wanted to do if left alone. In tribal fights, for instance, he acted fiercely and aggressively and with the air of swaggering braggadocio that that all important men are expected to show in fighting, yet at the earliest possible moment he melted into the crowd with visible relief at being able to quit the center of the stage and without a trace of rancor or ill will toward any of the people whom he had been abusing or had been abused by a few minutes before. In council meetings of senior men he was always listened to with respect yet always had to be prodded into speaking at all. He never initiated a policy or offered his opinion until pressure was put upon him to state what he thought, and while his opinion when given was listened to with attention it was always a paraphrase of some opinion already given, usually the majority opinion of the group. He expressed what he thought the group wanted him to say, never an "opinion of his own." In this respect Antonio had many of the characteristics of a "yes-man" and like his counterparts in more civilized societies he seldom took the unpopular side and seldom stood up to opposition.

Two burning political issues agitating the Tiwi in 1928–30 were the issues of (1) plural marriage and (2) the visits of the Japanese pearling luggers. The Catholic missionaries had taken a strong stand on plural marriages and were bringing all the economic and moral pressure they could exert on the younger Tiwi to induce them to restrict themselves to one wife. Failure to bow to Mission pressure resulted in the recalcitrant's being cut off from the European food, tobacco, clothes, etc. which could only be obtained through the Mission. But beginning in the middle 1920's Japanese pearling boats in ever increasing numbers had carried on the practice of anchoring on the further side of Melville Island during the period of high tide (when diving for pearl shell was impossible) and inviting the natives to provide their women as prostitutes for the use of the crews during their stay on the beaches. The Japanese captains paid lavishly in European goods for any women thus provided and the subtribes on the southeast side of Melville, in particular the subtribe called the Yeimpi, proved very susceptible to the Japanese temptations.

These two issues of plural marriage and prostitution for the Japanese rather neatly complemented each other at two points. Not only did the Japanese rival the Mission station as a source of supply for European goods; the possession of a large number of wives was a condition that made a man very unpopular with the missionaries, but, if he were disposed to rent out some of them, made the same man very popular with the Japanese. The plural marriage issue, if alone, would clearly have divided the tribe into the conservatives, staunchly upholding plural marriage as the Tiwi way, and the radicals abandoning it in return for Mission favor. But such an alignment was cut right across

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by the Japanese issue, since it tempted the conservative with several wives to violate all the old tribal sanctions by renting out his wives, and it provided the Mission adherent radicals with a grand opportunity to pose as the real defenders of the old culture and to charge the old polygamists with being the real renegades from the ancient ways.

It can be easily guessed how high feelings ran on these issues and how hotly they were debated when a number of Tiwi gathered together. But on neither of these issues or on any aspect of them did Antonio show any signs of leadership. He accumulated wives but always apologized in a rather deprecating and apple-polishing way when he met the missionaries, and spent part of his time hanging around the Mission despite the contemptuous attitude which the missionaries adopted toward him. He thus contrasted very unfavorably with some of his contemporaries, notably one Dooley who, having been for years a one-wife man and a Mission favorite, inherited a second wife at around the age of forty. Dooley's decision was clear-cut and highly spectacular. He accepted the second wife, shook the dust of the Mission station from his feet and never set foot near it again, taking up again the traditional life of a Tiwi elder, deep in the bush, with his two wives and later additions, ignoring all white innovations, even tobacco.[4] Dooley's uncompromising behavior was greatly admired by the tribe but few had the strength of character to emulate him, certainly not Antonio.

On the Japanese issue Antonio was just as vacillating. Prodded by others to make a statement he would in ringing tones denounce as disgraceful and scandalous the behavior of the Yelmpi wife-renters, but on his visits to the Yelmpi country ostensibly "to see for himself what was going on" he shared eagerly in the proceeds of vice which his friends there offered him and was even heard on a few occasions to wonder aloud why the Japanese always went to the Yelmpi country when there were plenty of secluded beaches in Tiklauila country. Instantly challenged, "Would you want the Japanese to come here?" "Would you rent your wives to them if they did?" poor Antonio quickly turned it into a feeble joke, saying deprecatingly, "Oh no, no, no. I just wondered why they always go to those ugly Yelmpi women?"

In summary we might say that Antonio's personal behavior appeared to be that of a man pushed into a position rather too big for him to fill. He was not by nature particularly aggressive or domineering, but as the eldest son of Turimpi he was constantly being pushed by public opinion onto the center of the stage, whereas he would have been much happier if public opinion had left him alone to be an ordinary, average member of the crowd. The role he was called on by his status position to play seemed to give him little or no pleasure, little or no personal satisfaction. Such a view of his "personality" is supported by the fact that when alone in the bush with his own family and away from the society of his peers Antonio was relaxed and at ease. As Durkheim pointed out, the basic factor in Australian social psychology is that men spend a great part of their lives hunting and collecting in the bush, completely out of physical contact with all people except members of their own households,

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have some slight voice in tribal affairs. Antonio had already emerged into this latter group and therefore was already committed to the old way of things to an extent that Mariano was not. This line of reasoning will explain at least why Mariano was chosen rather than Antonio. Louis, on the other hand, was still a boy indistinguishable among the group of 18 year olds.

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Students of social organization in small societies are aware that in such societies the status requirements for certain positions are frequently such that often only a very few individuals, sometimes only one individual, are actually available to fill the positions. A similar narrow range of potential holders also pertains, it would seem, to statuses not known to the native culture but thrown up, as it were, by the demands of the culture-contact situation, as in the present case by the arrival of the Mission. What the missionaries needed among the natives was a spokesman for them (a) who had some influence, and influence in Tiwi is a combination of age, family prestige and personal forcefulness; (b) who was a local man in the district in which the Mission was built; (c) who was young enough to be flexible in his actions and thinking and therefore capable of being influenced by them; (d) who was not yet so committed to tribal mores (plural wives, strict observance of taboos, etc.) that once trusted by the Mission and identified in the native mind as a Mission-supporter he would be likely to embarrass the Mission by backsliding; and (e) who was willing to take on the job. They found their man in Mariano. A careful review of all the other possible candidates as they existed in 1911 fails to reveal any other man who had so many of the above desiderata. Dooley had many, but was a person of no family, certainly not a son of Turimpi.

In the early days of the Mission Mariano thus became its main spokesman among the tribe and the most trusted interpreter for and adviser of the priests. By 1928 he to some extent still occupied this position. But by then the Mission had had seventeen years in which to build up wider contacts and find other spokesmen, and its needs were no longer the same needs as in its pioneer days. Moreover, not only had the Mission matured in those seventeen years but so had Mariano. At the age of 42 or so, he was now a man of influence and prestige in the tribe but, like many better-known leaders of men in other societies, he was inclined toward an aggressive, bumptious self-importance and an exaggerated belief in his own indispensability. He had therefore become rather a trial to the missionaries (and to all the other white men to whom he had attached himself). The result was a continued series of quarrels between him and the Mission, which usually ended with Mariano, in a rage, storming off either to the bush or Port Darwin. In Port Darwin he characteristically worked for only the more important whites, senior government officials or at the hospital, until his anger had cooled sufficiently for him to return, self-contained, dignified, completely humorless and rather pompous, to ascertain whether the missionaries realized how foolish they had been to quarrel with him. If they had not, then he simply quit the Mission and waited for the arrival of some white visitor who needed a native sponsor. He thus acquired a greater knowledge of white ways than most of the Tiwi and as a result no doubt of his op-

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portunities for cultural comparison he at the same time acquired an acute insight into his own culture and into the psychology of his fellow tribesmen. For the anthropologist he was a magnificent informant and a continuous pain in the neck. As increasing years gave him increasing tribal seniority, Mariano became increasingly domineering and touchy about his own importance and increasingly recognized by the younger men as the man who voiced the "pro-mission" and hence "pro-white" point of view in tribal arguments. However, it would be a mistake to think of him as the "detribalized" native of the literature (as another Benelong, e.g., in the magnificent study of culture contact given by the Australian novelist Eleanor Dark, 1941). On the contrary the tough old unacculturated natives who lived deep in the bush and who tried to act much of the time as if white men didn't exist not only accepted Mariano but respected him and paid deep attention to his arguments. The reasons why they did this are, I think, all considerations of "personality," that is, they respected Mariano despite his collaboration with the Mission largely because Mariano was the kind of man he was. He was forceful and determined; he was sincere, he was consistent both in word and in deed, he was intelligent and knew both the psychology of his audience and how to marshal his arguments so as to obtain maximum impact from his material. And he had supreme confidence in his own righteousness. Time and again one was struck by the contrast between him and his elder brother Antonio. When Antonio spoke (always after being prompted or coerced into giving his opinion), people listened hoping to hear wisdom and force and cogency; instead they heard only hackneyed phrases and inconsistent arguments which left them dissatisfied and unconvinced. When Mariano spoke (always without invitation and frequently ahead of many of his seniors), he laid down, in vehement tones, a definite policy, and even though his policy was unacceptable to his hearers as it frequently was, they listened with close attention and voiced their approval at the end, not so much of the policy he outlined as the directness and clearness of the delivery and the logic of his position.

The difference between the two men is well illustrated by their attitudes toward the Japanese wife-renting on the Yeimpi beaches. On this, the burning issue of the day, Antonio never took a stand but shilly-shallied on all sides of it, despite the fact—frequently drawn to his attention—that his small daughter was betrothed to an old Yeimpi who was a notorious wife-renter and he, therefore, in a very short time would be faced with the decision of whether to hand the girl over to her promised husband or not. Mariano on the contrary seized upon the Japanese issue from its first appearance as proof of the essential soundness of the Mission campaign against plural marriages. His speeches were clear-cut and definite. "It all goes to show that the priests are right when they say that having a lot of wives is a bad thing. These old Yeimpi have too many wives. If they had only one each, like white men (and inferentially like Mariano himself), they would not be doing this disgusting thing of renting out their wives to Japanese, they would want to keep their one wife to themselves like decent Tiwi." Most of his hearers (a) considered themselves decent Tiwi, but

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emphasized, are presented from the point of view of a female Ego, for I strongly feel that it is only by using a female Ego that one can see the Tiwi marriage "game" as a "system." Following this, I present the kinship terminology together with some comments on the system of kin classification that are relevant to the marriage system. The last section discusses some aspects of the exchange of women between descent groups and local groups.

I am only too well aware that I do not have all the facts necessary to make a complete analysis of Tiwi social organization. It must also be stated that the relative-age analysis was a desk study based largely on what I believe to be logical deductions from the collected factual information pertaining to the age differences between spouses.[4] More field work is obviously necessary, and I hope that others who become interested in the problems of analysis and classification raised by this paper will comment and thereby suggest what they consider to be crucial areas for reinvestigation.

The Factor of Relative Age in Marriage Contracts

Hart and Pilling (1960) have described the dynamic nature of Tiwi marriage contracts from the point of view of a male Ego. My study supports their conclusion that for a Tiwi male the acquisition of wives and the acquisition of prestige are dependant variables. A Tiwi male will rarely acquire a wife through any form of contract before the age of 30. A bestowed wife, one who is promised before birth and becomes a cohabiting wife before puberty, is a valuable prestige symbol, but difficult to acquire. Thus a young man will frequently start his household with the acquisition of a less valuable but more easily obtainable type of wife, i.e., a widow, often of advanced age. Some Tiwi males never obtain sufficient prestige or political power to become involved in a bestowal contract, while others who are more fortunate may be involved in several such contracts.

My study of Tiwi marriage contracts from the point of view of a female Ego reveals some interesting differences in perspective. First and foremost is the fact that, while involvement in a bestowal contract is a cultural ideal, albeit rarely realized, for a male's first marriage, it is an inescapable norm for every Tiwi woman's first marriage. Thus, while this type of contract can be considered "preferential" but not normative from the point of a male Ego, it is acknowledged by Tiwi women as an inflexible "rule" governing their first marriage before puberty to a man whom they describe as "the one who grew me up, treated me like a father, and made me a woman."[5]

Thus a marriage contract for a man's first wife need not be—and frequently is not—the same as the initial contract leading to a girl's primary marriage. Furthermore, the form of the contract for a man's first wife is apt to vary considerably, whereas the form of the initial

[5] [The Tiwi believe that sexual intercourse is the direct and only cause of menarche. Cf. p. 465, cat. 116 -- Analyst.]

10:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1962 O120 Tiwi O120

hands of a limited number of specified relatives of the woman, the privilege of exercising a particular role in a marriage contract depends on the individual's age relative to others holding similar rights and relative to the woman involved in the contract. I have chosen to base the following classification of contracts on the single factor of who has the right to make the contract.

Type A Contracts

A Type A contract involves four individuals. The authority to make the contract resides solely in the hands of the bride's mother's father. At the time the contract is made, this man is at the expected age of 50—the age when a man is at the height of his political career. Acquiring wives for himself to further his career and maintain his prestige is only one of the activities involving marriage contracts in which a Tiwi male is engaged at this time of life. As a father, he has a duty to look after the welfare of his daughters even after they are married. As an elder in a matrilineal descent group, he has a similar duty toward all younger members of that descent group, male and female. By arranging a correct Type A marriage contract, a Tiwi man can fulfill two duties at the same time. He can provide his daughter with a son-in-law, whom he selects on the basis of potential economic and political ability and who, if of roughly the same age as the daughter, can be expected to provide her, under the terms of the contract, with continued support throughout her life. By selecting a young man in his own descent group (his sister's daughter's son) to provide this support, he at the same time assures this young man that he will eventually obtain a bestowed and preferred type of wife which will help him on his road to prestige.

The arranger of a Type A contract may be dead by the time the bride is of an age to be given over to her selected groom. The rights to implement the contract, consequently, do not permanently reside with the arranger, but rather they are the duty of the mother of the bride. They are not given to the mother's husband, even if he is also the bride's father. In the space of time that may well elapse between the arrangement of the contract and its implementation, the bride's mother may have a number of husbands, each of whom may have different axes to grind and varying motives for changing the selection of the groom. The right to change any Type A contract belongs to both the mother of the bride and to the groom; if either does not live up to the obligations of the contract the other may consider it void.

A Type A contract, therefore, is one which preferentially and frequently results in a marriage of a MoFaSiDaSo to a MoMoBrDaDa and in a marital union between two matrilineal descent groups. This arrangement is unaffected either by the death of the arranger or by any secondary marriage of the bride's mother to a man who, though the real father of the bride, might possibly belong to a descent group other than the two originally involved in the contract.

The enduring quality of a Type A contract over a span of two generations is a most important aspect of the total marriage system

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582 and for Tiwi fathers' statements that they can only "find" children
614 in their own country.

Today, with nonlocalized sibs, both the sib and the local group are
582 considered in the exchange of woman, which is direct with reference
614 to sibs but indirect with reference to local groups. Such exchange
may in some cases involve sibs and countries or *tungarima*, in others
621 sibs and districts or subcountries. I found that approximately 50 per cent of local-group exchanges were between *tungarima* and 50 per cent within the *tungarima*.

582 With local-group exchange and unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferred and predominant, we have an indirect but circular marriage exchange system. We cannot, however, consider the entire society as being involved in a single marriage exchange system. The system is best seen from the point of view of a single male Ego, whose marriages are systematized according to rules which are society wide, but whose actual marriages are determined by past affiliations which can be and often are variable with respect to sib and local-group exchange.

554 That the Tiwi system is Ego-oriented is most evident when a male Ego dies and his relatives foregather for his funeral ceremonies (Goodale 1959). If such an Ego has lived a full life, he will be affiliated
571 at the time of his death with a number of social groups. He is affili-
764 ated by birth with a matrilineal sib. By his father's death he is affiliated with a local group and a *tungarima*, which may or may not be the same as the group with whom he currently resides; in either case he is affiliated with the latter and will be buried among them. Through marriage, Ego is likewise affiliated with one or more additional sibs and local groups.

601 Only those persons who belong to the several above-mentioned groups with which the deceased is actually affiliated are expected to
764 honor him by attending his funeral ceremony. When death occurs, these individuals are terminologically reclassified into four cate-
602 gories, from the members of each of which similar behavior is expected. The spouse and spouse's siblings become *ambarui*. Cross-cousins, MoFa, FaMo, BrDaCh (ws), and SiSoCh (ms) all become *yempi*. Siblings and parallel cousins, MoMo, FaFa, BrSoCh (ws), and SiDaCh (ms), regardless of their sib affiliations, are classed together as *pudawi*. All kinsmen in the first ascending and first descending generations are classed as *unandawi*. Since, however, there is a distinct role differentiation between Fa, FaSi, and SoCh (ms), on the one hand, and Mo, MoBr, and SiCh (ms), on the other, I suspect there may be a terminological distinction which escaped me, inasmuch as these "funeral terms," with the exception of *ambarui*, are no longer in use.

Conclusion

582 In this paper I have considered the form and nature of the varying types of contracts that lead to marriage among the Tiwi. I have